

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GOER
STRENGTHENING CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT
September 4, 1998

The Clinton Administration's Fiscal Year 1999 balanced budget contains \$602 million for civil rights enforcement agencies and offices -- an increase of \$86 million, or more than 16 percent, over last year's funding. This budget keeps the President's commitment to ensure equal opportunity for all Americans: that no one should be denied such essentials as a job, a home or a chance at an education because of the color of their skin, a disability, their gender or their religion. We must help these critical agencies obtain the resources and promote management reforms to allow civil rights agencies to do their jobs.

- **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)**

The Administration's 1999 budget contains \$279 million for the EEOC, or 15 percent more than the enacted 1998 budget. This \$37 million increase will go to reduce the average time it takes to resolve private sector complaints through a combination of investments in information technology, increased use of mediation, and increased staffing. **The House CJS bill includes only half the increase requested by the Administration; the Senate bill provides \$27 million less than the President's request.** These funds would be insufficient for the agency to meet its performance and backlog reduction goals over the next year.

- **Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**

The Administration's budget proposes \$52 million, or an over 70 percent increase from last year, for HUD's efforts to reduce housing discrimination. This includes \$10 million for a targeted, audit-based enforcement initiative in 20 areas nationwide that will use paired testing, in which otherwise identical applicants of different races approach realtors or landlords, in order to detect and eliminate housing discrimination. **The Senate bill provides \$17 million less than the President's request; the House provides \$12 million less.** Though the House report states that \$7.5 million of the overall enhancement will go toward conducting the nation-wide audit, there is no mention of this program in the Senate. Overall, both houses provide insufficient funds to meet the Administration's fair housing goals.

- **Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division**

The President's 1999 budget includes \$72 million for the Civil Rights Division which is more than a 10 percent increase over the 1998 level of \$65 million. **The Senate CJS bill provides \$11 million less than the President's request for the Civil Rights Division; the House, \$6 million less.** This level of funding will not allow the Civil Rights Division to meet the challenges of enforcement of our civil rights laws

in the coming year, including expansion of investigation and prosecution of police misconduct and violations of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

- **Department of Labor, Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP)**

The Administration's request of \$68 million for OFCCP includes funds to expand the Fair Enforcement Initiative and thereby increase federal contractor compliance with anti-discrimination laws. OFCCP will also modernize its computer systems in order to permit the agency to accept electronically submitted reports from contractors. The House mark provides the OFCCP with \$65 million -- **\$3 million less than the President's request.**

- **Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights**

The President's budget proposal of \$68 million provides an increase of \$6.5 million over the 1998 enacted budget to fund technology improvements to increase productivity and customer service. These additional funds will also enable the Department of Education to continue to invest sufficient resources in higher education desegregation reviews and to focus on building partnerships with States to address statewide compliance with civil rights laws. The House has appropriated \$62 million for civil rights enforcement at the Department of Education -- **\$6 million less than the President's request.**

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE
FIGHTING FOR SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS

September 4, 1998

Since taking office, President Clinton has put into place a crime-fighting strategy that gives communities the tools they need to keep their neighborhoods safe. Crime rates have fallen for five years in a row, to their lowest levels in a generation. President Clinton has proposed important investments to continue this success -- more police on our streets, anti-drug initiatives for offenders and schools, and efforts to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. While Congress has funded much of the President's strategy, the current Senate Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill falls short, and even reverses course, on key anti-drug and crime fighting efforts by:

Undermining the Brady Law. The President strongly opposes efforts to undermine Brady background checks which have successfully halted a quarter of a million handgun sales to felons, fugitives, and stalkers. The Senate bill would undermine implementation of the National Instant Check System by prohibiting the FBI from charging gun dealers the same fee for Brady background checks it charges others such as day care providers -- forcing the FBI to either forego processing millions of checks or to transfer resources from other crime-fighting efforts.

Under funding testing and treatment of drug offenders. President Clinton is committed to promoting a policy of frequent drug testing, sanctions, and treatment for drug offenders in the criminal justice system. Despite its proven effectiveness in reducing recidivism and future drug use, both the Senate and House fail to fund the President's \$85 million drug testing and treatment initiative.

Undercutting progress on Methamphetamine. Leading the effort against the emerging drug methamphetamine, President Clinton fought for and signed into law strengthened penalties for meth trafficking and established new controls over precursor chemicals used to make meth. Hundreds of meth labs have been seized, and enforcement efforts have helped to curtail meth use. The Senate bill reverses course on these efforts by substantially weakening DEA's authority to prevent the diversion of precursor chemicals to meth traffickers.

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE
SUPPORTING A STRONG AND FAIR IMMIGRATION SYSTEM
September 4, 1998

This Administration is proud of the significant progress that we have made toward improving the Nation's immigration system. Over the last five years, the INS has worked hard to curtail illegal immigration through tougher border control, reform of a badly abused asylum system, and the removal of record numbers of criminal and other illegal aliens. The agency has also worked to redesign and strengthen the naturalization process.

The President and Vice President have put forward a budget for FY 1999 that strengthens enforcement efforts both along the Southwest border and in the interior and continues to improve the naturalization system through programmatic reforms and increased investments. The Congress should heed the President's call for new and increased investment in the following:

Improving the Naturalization Process

The President's FY 1999 budget recommends \$827 million in funding from the Examination Fee Account and \$486 million from the User Fee Account dedicated to providing immigration benefit and inspection services. A recent estimate of INS fee receipts has resulted in a significant reduction in anticipated fee revenue to support the Examination Fee Account and insufficient resources to address the citizenship application backlog.

As a result, the Administration is seeking an infusion of \$171 million in new resources into the fee account to support naturalization activities. This additional money is necessary for the INS to begin to reduce the citizenship application backlog and achieve a reduction in the current 18 to 24 month wait-time, to an acceptable wait-time of 6 to 8 months in FY 2000. **The approval of this reprogramming is necessary for the INS to be able to effectively reduce the backlog of naturalization applications and improve customer service.**

The **Senate bill** transfers \$166 million in funding out of the fee accounts to fund Border Patrol and other discretionary account activities. Funding discretionary activities out of the fee account drains already scarce resources, thereby severely hindering the INS's ability to improve the naturalization process and reduce the backlog.

Enhancing Enforcement at the Border

The President's FY 1999 budget request includes \$225 million to enhance border management. The **House bill** provides \$156 million less than the President's request; the **Senate bill** provides \$344 million less than the request, including a \$93 million reduction in base funding. Both the Senate and the House mark are insufficient to support the Administration's bi-partisan comprehensive border enforcement strategy. Enhancements are particularly needed in the following areas:

- **Increasing Detention Space**
Because additional detention resources are critical to backup Border Patrol apprehensions by allowing the INS to properly detain and remove those here illegally, the President's FY 99 budget requests \$143 million for detention. **The House bill provides \$78 million less than the President's request; the Senate provides \$126 million less.**
- **Enhancing Technology on the Border**
Improved technology is key to a more efficient border enforcement system. The President's budget requests a \$15 million enhancement to fund the creation of a camera technology system that is a cost effective method of monitoring vast sections of the border and ensuring the most effective use of limited Border Patrol resources. **Neither the House nor the Senate provides the \$15 million request for border management technology.**
- **Strengthening Interior Enforcement**
The President's interior enforcement strategy complements INS's border control strategy by establishing a focused initiative to apprehend those who remain illegally in the United States. **Both House and Senate CJS Appropriations bills fail to provide more than \$6 million in requested enhancements for interior enforcement.**

Improving and Centralizing INS Records

The President's FY 1999 budget includes \$8.5 million to support continued efforts to centralize and improve the integrity of INS records. Records clean-up and centralization will lead to increased data integrity, which will in turn lead to more rapid and accurate verification and renewed confidence in INS records. **Neither the House nor the Senate provides the INS with this \$8.5 million enhancement.**

Following President Clinton's Lead

Senate Rejects Extreme House Republican Labor-HHS Bill

September 1, 1998

Last year, President Clinton delivered a bipartisan balanced budget that made critical investments in our children, including the largest investment in children's health since Medicaid was created and tax credits to make college more affordable. Building on that success, the President has proposed important investments to prepare our children for the 21st century. Instead of continuing to move forward on a bipartisan path, House Republicans chose an extreme approach, eliminating energy assistance for low-income families and the summer jobs program. President Clinton has repeatedly criticized the House bill and rallied bipartisan opposition.

A step forward -- Senate joins President Clinton and rejects House bill:

- **Funds Low-Income Home Energy Assistance (LIHEAP).** The House bill eliminates LIHEAP, denying more than five million low-income families assistance to pay for home heating and cooling costs. The Senate bill funds the President's budget request to help these families.
- **Funds the Summer Jobs Program,** which provides about one in five of the jobs for African American 16-17 year olds. Unlike the House, which eliminated this successful program, the Senate included the President's request that rewards hard work and provides valuable work experience to over one-half million low-income youth.
- **Supports Goals 2000.** To move forward on raising academic standards, the President proposed a \$10 million increase for Goals 2000. The Senate funded half of that increase, in stark contrast to the \$255 million or 51% cut in the House bill, which would have adversely affected 6,000 schools serving over 3 million students.
- **Supports effort against child labor.** Unlike the House, which provided just \$6 million, the Senate fully funds the President's request for \$30 million for the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), a proven model for eliminating forced, indentured, abusive, and hazardous labor for children around the world.

Progress in some other key areas, but not in others. More work needs to be done:

- **Supports Title I (Education for the Disadvantaged).** The House bill cuts the President's Request for Title I by \$392 million, denying additional help to nearly 520,000 students in high-poverty communities. The Senate bill adds \$301 million over FY 1998, but remains \$91 million below the President's budget.
- **Provides partial funding to prepare disadvantaged children for college.** By denying all of the President's request of \$140 million for the High Hopes program, the House bill denies more than one million at-risk middle school students (over five years) the mentoring and tutoring needed to raise education expectations and eliminate barriers to college. In contrast, the Senate provides \$75 million, roughly half of the President's request.
- **A start on education technology.** The House bill cuts investments in education technology, denying funding to 400 school districts nationwide to provide students and teachers with access to computers. The Senate bill adds \$39 million over FY98, but remains \$98 million below the President's budget.

- **Insufficient funds for after-school programs.** The House bill reduces the President's request for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program by \$140 million, denying approximately 425,000 school-age children participation in before- and after-school programs. The Senate provided \$15 million more than the House but it is still \$125 million below the President's requested investment.
- **Does not fully fund out-of-school youth initiative.** The House bill provided no funding, denying training and job finding help for up to 50,000 youth each year in the poorest communities. The Senate provided \$125 million in FY99 funding, but this is still \$125 million below the President's budget. For FY00, the Senate provided the President's full \$250 million request.
- **Falls short on Hispanic education initiative.** The President's Budget proposed funding increases of \$212 million for a series of programs to enhance the educational achievement of Hispanic Americans. The House bill reduces this request by more than \$90 million, with significant decreases in the request for Adult Education, Bilingual Education, Hispanic Serving Institutions, and Comprehensive School Reform Demonstrations. The Senate bill reduces the President's request by \$170 million, with significant decreases in the programs above as well as for Migrant Education and TRIO programs.
- **Fails to fund reading initiative.** The Senate bill denies \$260 million for the America Reads Challenge, denying funding to schools and communities to improve reading programs and provide tutors.
- **Takes a step backwards on key health efforts.** The Senate bill would have a devastating effect on the ability of the Health Care Financing Administration to manage the Medicare, Medicaid and Children's Health Insurance programs. Further, the Senate bill undermines the President's efforts to improve the public health by under funding the President's requests for demonstrations to improve racial health disparities, substance abuse treatment programs, health professions assistance grants, and disease prevention activities at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- **Falls short on charter schools.** The Senate bill provides only \$80 million for the charter schools program, \$20 million short of the \$100 million in the President's Balanced Budget proposal. The President has set a goal of 3,000 public charter schools--public schools which are started by teachers and parents, freed from bureaucratic regulations, and remain open only as long as they produce results.
- **Retreats from National Standards and Tests.** Both the House and Senate bills contain riders that would stop progress on the development and implementation of voluntary national tests in reading and math, denying parents, students and teachers the help they need to meet high standards, and important information on student and school performance.

**PRESIDENT CLINTON AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE
SUPPORTING ISSUES CRUCIAL TO RACIAL PROGRESS AND EQUALITY**

House and Senate Budget Plans Shortchange Many Key Programs

September 4, 1998

This Administration has made a commitment to racial issues by strengthening programs serving minority communities, heightening enforcement of civil rights laws, and continuing the ongoing work of the President's Initiative on Race. The President's Budget for the next fiscal year proposed a renewed commitment to strong and effective civil rights enforcement to help ensure that economic opportunities and progress reach all segments of a diverse American population.

Unfortunately, the Congress had not yet joined the Administration in making a commitment to programs that benefit minority communities. At this point in the appropriations process Congress has underfunded many programs intended to benefit minorities, cutting funds relative to the President's budget for institutions that enforce civil rights and for programs which aid minorities in the areas of education, the environment, health, jobs and training. Congress has also added riders that undermine the government's ability to protect the rights and interests of minorities.

The following list contains examples of programs where Congress has funded programs at levels below the President's request.

- **Programs Enforcing Civil Rights Laws:**
 - Congress plans to cut funds requested in six different agencies charged with enforcement of Civil Rights Laws, including the EEOC, HUD's Fair Housing Activities Grants, the US Commission on Civil Rights, and the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division.
 - The House would deny the President's request for an increase of \$37 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which enforces federal laws prohibiting discrimination. The House would cut the President's request by \$18 million and the Senate would cut it by \$25 million.
 - The House would deny the President's request for an increase of \$22 million for HUD's Fair Housing Activities Grants, cutting \$12 million from the President's request. The Senate would cut \$17 million, which would reduce the President's total request of \$52 million by 33%. These grants provide resources to public and private sector fair housing groups enforcing Federal laws against housing discrimination.
 - Both the House and Senate would deny the President's request for an increase

of \$2 million for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, cutting from \$11 million to \$9 million. The Commission monitors the status of civil rights' protection and reports to the President, Congress and the public.

- Congress would underfund the Civil Rights Division of the Dept of Justice, the chief civil rights enforcement agency of the federal government, by \$4 million in the House, and \$9 million in the Senate, relative to the President's request.
- Other critical enforcement programs that are funded below the President's request include:
 - the Dept of Education's Office for Civil Rights, which ensures equal access to education; and
 - the Dept of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance, which enforces employment discrimination laws for Federal contractors and sub-contractors.

Census Sampling:

- Congress would provide funding only for the first half of the year. This would disrupt hiring of temporary workers and other key functions, and would lead to a less accurate census and undercount minorities.

Programs Serving Minority Communities:

Education and Training:

- The House plans to kill the Summer Jobs program which provides about one in five of the jobs for African-American 16-17 year olds, at a time when the African-American teenage unemployment rate runs at 29%. The Senate plans to fully fund the Summer Jobs program.
- The House would eliminate the entire \$250 million Congress made available last year for providing job training and job finding help for up to 50,000 at-risk youth in some of our poorest communities, while the Senate would eliminate \$125 million of these funds.
- The House bill would limit bilingual education to an absolute cut-off of four years of participation.
- **The Hispanic Education Initiative:**

The House denied the President's request for an increase of \$33 million for Bilingual and Immigrant Education, which is meant to help low English proficiency students learn English and achieve high academic standards. Primarily, this would deny as many as 4,000 teachers the

training to work with students who have limited English proficiency.

- The President requested an increase of \$33 million for Adult Education, which many new Hispanic immigrants rely on to learn English in preparation for entrance to the labor force. The House would cut this request by \$16 million; the Senate would cut it by \$38 million, which is a reduction of \$5 million from the previous year.
 - The President's request for an increase of \$30 million for Obey Comprehensive School Reform would help fund almost 600 new comprehensive school reform projects in Title One Schools. Both the House and the Senate would deny any increase in funding over last year.
 - The Senate would cut TRIO programs, which work with low-income high school and college students to encourage them to complete their education, by \$27 million.
 - The President's request for an increase of \$50 million for Migrant Education, which provides services to migrant children, faces a cut of \$35 million in the Senate.
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- The House would cut the President's request for an increase of \$325 million for the Head Start program by \$160 million. This would reduce the President's total request of \$4,660 million for Head Start by 34%. The program provides comprehensive child development services to help prepare disadvantaged youngsters for school.

Title One Education for the Disadvantaged would be cut by \$392 million in the House and \$91 million in the Senate, denying students in high-poverty communities the extra help they need to develop the capability to reach high academic standards.
 - The House provides no funds for the High Hopes program which would help low-income students prepare for and pursue post-secondary education. The Senate bill provides only \$75 million of the Administration's \$140 million request for High Hopes.
 - The House plans to use federal funds to pay for private school vouchers in the District of Columbia, thereby draining badly needed resources from public schools there. This action would set a dangerous and unwise precedent that would favor private schools with taxpayer money, and undermine public schools at a time when they most need support. This provision also undermines local control of the District, which the Administration has consistently supported.

Health:

- The House and Senate have underfunded some important parts of the President's Race and Health Initiative. The House did not provide \$30 million to the Centers for Disease Control to support new demonstration grants on racial disparities in health. These demonstrations would help identify new methods to reduce racial disparities in HIV rates, infant mortality, cardiovascular disease, diabetes and cancer.

The Senate has also underfunded existing CDC programs to benefit minorities such as HIV prevention, diabetes prevention and prostate cancer education. Despite increases by both the House and Senate for the Indian Health Service, neither chamber has met the President's specific request for a \$10 million initiative to fund race and health activities within IHS such as breast cancer and drug and alcohol prevention and treatment.

Environment:

- Congress would make deep cuts of at least 50% in the HUD portion elements of the President's Brownfields Redevelopment Program, which is meant to promote local cleanup of formerly contaminated sites, and restore urban sites to productive uses, bringing jobs and economic development to poor communities located near such sites. The House would cut elements of Brownfields administered by HUD by \$30 million, and the Senate would make a cut of \$25 million.
- The Senate would prevent the use of EPA Brownfields funds to provide valuable investment seed money to finance clean-up of these sites.

Farmers:

In addition, Congress would make cuts in a set of programs meant to help minority farmers:

- The House would cut farm ownership loans targeted to minority and beginner farmers by \$10 million from the President's request for an increase of \$21 million;
- Both the House and the Senate denied the President's request for a \$7 million increase for outreach programs to help minority and women farmers apply for government programs and with other technical assistance; and
- The House permits prior discrimination claims against USDA to go forward for farm loans only, but not housing loans, as the President requested and the Senate bill provides.

Congress has made cuts or put restrictive riders on a broad range of other issues that affect minority Americans.

- The House plans to kill the LIHEAP program, which provides assistance to low-income families to pay for home heating and cooling costs. LIHEAP helped prevent further deaths and suffering during this summer's heat wave. The Senate bill would fund LIHEAP at the level of the President's request.

The Legal Services Corporation, which provides legal services to low-income families would be cut by \$90 million in the House, \$33 million (almost 12%) below last year's funding level. The President's request for an increase of \$57 million for LSC would be cut by \$40 million in the Senate.

- The Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund provides grants, loans, and technical assistance to institutions such as community development banks, low-income credit unions, loan and venture capital funds, and microenterprise funds. The House bill would cut CDFI by \$45 million and the Senate would cut the program by \$70 million. The Senate level is \$25 million (31%) below last year's.
- The SBA's Minority Enterprise Technical Assistance program would be cut by more than two-thirds, from \$9.5 million to \$2.6 million, in both the House and Senate.
- The President has requested an increase of \$157 million for WIC, the nutrition program for low-income women, infants and children. The House would deny the full increase of \$157 million and the Senate would make a cut from the President's request of \$133 million

Africa Issues in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill

African Development Fund: The President's FY 1999 Budget Request is for \$155 million. The Senate Committee has allocated only \$5 million to the fund. (By comparison, the House allocated \$128 million to the fund.) The Africa Development Fund works in conjunction with the World Bank to provide multi-lateral lending for infrastructure and other projects including power plants, road building and education.

African Development Foundation: The Senate mark, \$8 million, is \$6 million below the Administration's request. ADF provides grants to small entrepreneurs

and non-government entities.

Economic Support Fund: The President's FY 1999 Economic Support Fund request of \$2.5 billion included \$67 million for Africa. The Senate Committee bill underfunds the ESF request (at \$2.3 billion) and in particular underfunds by one-third countries other than Israel and Egypt. While the bill does not earmark funds explicitly for Africa at this level, it would be impossible to fully fund the Africa request without significant cuts to other key Administration priorities such as Latin America, and vice versa. ESF is government to government assistance offered by AID and the State Dept.

Debt: The Administration's FY 1999 debt reduction request of \$72 million includes \$35 million for additional debt reduction for African countries that have implemented key economic reforms. The Senate Committee bill funds the debt reduction program at \$25 million, or 65% below the request.

AID Development Assistance/Child Survival: The FY 1999 Development Assistance/Child Survival request of \$1.7 billion included \$730 million for Africa. The Senate Committee bill funds total Development Assistance and Child Survival at this level. However, it includes a number of unrequested earmarks. Because it is not clear which country or region these earmarks will go to, it is difficult to tell how this would affect the Africa request. However, the proliferation of earmarks for other countries or programs in the Senate bill could make it difficult to fund all of the President's priorities in Africa without squeezing other critical Administration assistance priorities.

President Clinton's Fall Agenda Highlights: Saving Social Security First, Protecting Patient Rights, Investing in Education and the Environment, Stabilizing International Financial System

September 3, 1998

President Clinton's economic strategy of fiscal discipline, strategic investments in our people, and opening markets abroad has helped create the strongest economy in a generation and will deliver the first budget surplus in three decades. Now is a time to build on our success and there is much work for Congress to do in the weeks before adjournment. President Clinton, working with the Congress, is determined to:

- ✓ **Save Social Security First** --The President will fight any attempt to break the budget rules and drain the surplus. His commitment is unwavering: every penny of any future surplus must be reserved until a bipartisan plan to save Social Security is enacted.
- ✓ **Pass a Patients' Bill of Rights** --The President will work to pass a strong enforceable patients' bill of rights to give Americans the protections they deserve.
- ✓ **Invest in Education** --The President will work to strengthen public schools through higher standards, expanded opportunities, increased accountability, school modernization and smaller classes, and greater access to technology.
- ✓ **Invest in a Cleaner Environment** -- President Clinton will push his significant new investments to curb water pollution, clean up toxic dumps, protect precious lands, and combat global warming.
- ✓ **Stabilize the International Financial System** --The President will work to provide the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the resources it needs to protect the international financial system --and therefore the United States economy.

Save Social Security First

Fiscal discipline has helped create the strongest economy in a generation. In 1992, the deficit stood at a record \$290 billion and was projected by CBO to exceed \$350 billion this year. The President's 1993 Economic Plan helped cut the deficit, lowered interest rates, spurred business investment, and strengthened the economy. With last year's bipartisan Balanced Budget, the President finished the job of balancing the budget and this year we will record the first budget surplus in 29 years. With our fiscal house in order, we must use our solid fiscal footing to face the next major fiscal

January, President Clinton proposed that every penny of the surplus be reserved to "Save Social Security First."

Building on his tax cutting record, the President has called on Congress to pass targeted tax relief --to spur school modernization, help families better afford child-care, help clean the environment, expand pension coverage, and develop low-income housing. The President insists that every tax cut and new spending program meet the budget rules and be fully paid for. He will strongly oppose any proposal that breaks the budget rules and drains the surplus. As the President has said:

"I believe we should tell our children and our grandchildren that we think enough of them and their future that we're going to resist spending a penny of the surplus on things that I would very much like to spend it on --or you would --until we have met our basic obligation to our future, passing a bipartisan plan to save Social Security" [July 22, 1998, Signing of the Internal Revenue Service Restructuring and Reform Act]

Pass A Patients' Bill of Rights

President Clinton calls on the Congress to pass a strong, enforceable patients' bill of rights that assures Americans the quality health care they need. This bill should include important patient protections such as:

- ✓ **Assuring direct access to specialists.**
- ✓ **Real emergency room protections.**
- ✓ **Continuity of care provisions that protect patients from abrupt changes in treatment.**
- ✓ **A fair, timely, and independent appeals process for patient grievances.**
- ✓ **Enforcement provisions to make these rights real.**

The President has urged the Senate Leadership to make passing the patients' bill of rights the first order of business this fall. The Republicans have proposed legislation that would be more loophole than law. Their proposals cover too few people; provide too few patient protections; and contain unnecessary and irrelevant provisions that undermine the chances for a bipartisan agreement on a patients' bill of rights. For example, these proposals would let HMOs, not informed health professionals, define medical necessity and would fail to guarantee direct access to specialists.

The President is working to implement patients' bill of rights in health plans under Federal jurisdiction. In February, the President issued an Executive Memorandum directing all Federal health plans to come into compliance with the patients' bill of rights. In response to this directive, for example:

- ✓ Department of Health and Human Services has extended the patients' bill of rights to the 40 million Americans who receive Medicare.
- ✓ Department of Veterans' Affairs has begun to put in place a new, rapid appeals process for its 3 million beneficiaries. The Department of Defense issued a directive to all military bases throughout the world, extending patient protections to 8 million servicemen and women and

their families.

- ✓ Department of Labor is requiring plans it oversees to have an improved internal appeals process.

Invest in Education

President Clinton is working to strengthen public education by raising standards, increasing accountability and expanding public school choice, including charter schools, and to prepare students for the 21st Century through increased investments in public schools, expanded awareness of and access to higher education, and training to ensure success in the workplace.

- **Strengthening Public Education.** President Clinton will fight for full funding for programs and new initiatives that will help all children reach challenging academic standards, strengthen accountability, provide access to technology, improve the quality of teaching, expand Head Start and after school programs, and make our schools safe and drug free.
- **Modernizing Our Schools.** The President is calling for federal tax credits to help renovate, modernize, and build over 5,000 public schools nationwide.
- **Reduce Class Size.** The President will press Congress to enact his proposal to reduce class size to a national average of 18 in grades 1-3, by helping local schools hire 100,000 well-prepared teachers.
- **Expanding Investments In Youth Education And Training.** One of the President's top priorities is fighting efforts by Congress to eliminate both the Summer Jobs Program, which provides jobs to roughly 530,000 disadvantaged young people, and the new Youth Opportunity Area Initiative, which would help provide job training and help finding jobs for up to 50,000 youth in the poorest communities nationwide.
- **Passage Of The Higher Education Act, With The High Hopes Mentoring Initiative and Teacher Recruitment.** President Clinton urges Congress to pass the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, to reduce interest rates on student loans; extend the Pell Grant and Federal Work-Study programs; enact his High Hopes program to establish college-school partnerships in order to spark young people's interest in college and provide them with the mentoring and other support they need to prepare for college; and strengthen teacher training and recruitment programs.
- **Education Technology.** The President has made an unprecedented commitment to bringing technology into the classroom and called for technology training for teachers and expanded access for teachers and students to computers in the classroom; however, the House appropriations bill threatens these initiatives;
- **Strengthening And Expanding Charter Schools.** President Clinton will continue to work with Congress to pass bipartisan legislation to strengthen federal support for the growing charter

school movement.

- **Helping Every Eight-Year Old Learn To Read.** President Clinton will continue his work with Congress to enact a child literacy bill to ensure that children receive quality instruction from well-trained teachers and have opportunities to develop their reading skills with trained tutors after-school and on the weekend.
- **Voluntary National Standards and Tests.** President Clinton will continue to fight for voluntary national standards and tests in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math, to help students master the basic skills and to give parents, communities and educators accurate information on how well our students perform.

Invest in a Cleaner Environment

President Clinton is proposing significant new investments to curb water pollution, clean up toxic dumps, protect precious lands, and combat global warming. Yet the Republican Congress is not only failing to fully fund these priorities, but is launching a stealth attack on the environment with a host of legislative riders aimed at rolling back protections already in place.

- **Clean, Safe Water for America.** The President is proposing an additional \$2.3 billion over five years to help clean up the almost 40 percent of America's surveyed waterways still too polluted for fishing or swimming. Budget bills in the House and Senate fall well short of the President's request, denying communities and farmers vital help in curbing pollution.
- **Saving and Restoring Parks and Other Natural Treasures.** The President is proposing a 43 percent increase over five years to acquire scenic and historic lands, yet Congress is denying full funding. What's more, Congress is withholding 1998 appropriations that the President has allocated to protect over 100 sites in 35 states, including Civil War battlefields, critical winter range for Yellowstone bison, New Mexico's Baca Ranch, and completion of the Appalachian Trail.
- **Leading the Fight Against Global Warming.** The President's five-year \$6.3 billion package of tax incentives and research investment would reduce greenhouse gas pollution through energy efficiency and clean energy technologies. But Congress, ignoring the growing evidence of global warming, wants to cut these sensible, cost-effective programs.
- **Doubling the Pace of Toxic Cleanups.** The President is proposing an additional \$650 million in Fiscal Year 99 --a 40 percent increase --to accelerate Superfund cleanups with a goal of completing a total of 900 cleanups by 2001. By denying these funds, Congress threatens to delay cleanup at up to 171 sites.
- **Fighting Against Stealth Attacks on the Environment.** Some of the many anti-environmental riders would force overcutting of timber on national forests, cripple wildlife protection efforts, deny taxpayers a fair return from oil leasing on public lands, and allow a \$30 million road through an Alaska wildlife refuge. The President will not tolerate stealth tactics that do

unacceptable harm to the environment or threaten public health.

Stabilize the International Financial System

Driven by a return to fiscal strength, the United States' economy is the strongest it has been in a generation. Unemployment and inflation are at their lowest levels in decades. Some other nations around the world, however, are experiencing major economic upheaval and this has already hurt our exports and farmers. A strong International Monetary Fund is a stabilizing force in the world economy and is vital to protect the international financial system -- and therefore the U.S. economy -- against the risk of new, escalating, or spreading crises. The Senate has wisely provided full funding for the IMF, but the House has failed to include any such funding. President Clinton will fight for full funding for the IMF to help keep

The President's Agenda for Women

This Administration has made a commitment to American women and their families by expanding opportunities for women, making our homes and communities safer, investing in education and job training, protecting our children's health, promoting reproductive health services, and generating more business opportunities for women. The President's Budget for the next fiscal year plans to build on these efforts by strengthening key programs designed to create more employment and education opportunities for women, facilitate access to health and child care, and improve family planning and abortion services.

As the Congressional appropriations process has advanced, however, it has become increasingly clear that the Administration's commitment to women is being undermined by Congress. Significant underfunding of key programs would weaken enforcement of job discrimination laws, undercut child care and nutrition programs, make it more difficult for women to move from welfare to work, and jeopardize women's access to family planning and abortion information and services.

The following list contains examples of programs where Congress has funded programs at levels below the President's request.

Enforcement of Anti-Discriminatory Laws:

- The President requested an increase of \$37 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which enforces federal laws prohibiting discrimination. The House plans to cut that request by \$18 million and the Senate would cut \$25 million.
- The President would increase funding for the Dept. of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance by \$5.4 million, a number that the House and Senate would cut in half. The OFCC enforces employment discrimination laws for federal contractors and sub-contractors.

Children:

- The President has requested an increase of \$157 million for WIC, the nutrition program for low-income women, infants and children. The House would refuse to increase WIC funding beyond the current level and the Senate would add \$24 million to the current level, still leaving it well below the President's request.
- The President's request for an increase of \$313 million for the Head Start program would be cut by \$160 million in the House. Head Start's

comprehensive child development services have a proven track record of success in readying disadvantaged children for school.

- The President's request for 21st Century Community Learning Centers would increase the program's budget from \$40 million to \$200 million. The House would fund the program at \$60 million, a cut of \$140 million to the President's increase, or 70% below his request. The Senate would fund the program at \$75 million, still substantially lower than the President's budget. The proposal would provide for 3,000 additional school and community-based before school and after school programs to extend learning activities and social services and to improve student achievement.
- The President proposed new funding of \$174 million to improve child care by establishing scholarships for child care providers, conducting research to learn how child care can best meet the needs of children and enforcing safety standards by increasing inspections of child care facilities. The House plans to provide no funds whatsoever for this initiative.
- The President's proposal to provide \$5 million to fund a demonstration project for child care apprenticeships to establish training and standards for qualified providers would not be funded by the House.

Employment:

- The President's budget proposed an increase of more than 125% for SBA Women's Business Centers, to \$9 million. The House would deny that increase, leaving funding at the current level of \$4 million.
- The President's request to provide \$100 million for the Dept. of Transportation's Access to Jobs program, which provides grants to develop transportation services to help individuals make the transition from welfare to work, would be cut by 50%.
- In the area of housing vouchers, the President's budget proposed an important additional step to promote work and welfare reform through a plan to provide 50,000 new housing vouchers to welfare recipients who need housing assistance in order to get or keep a job. Both the House and Senate have not provided sufficient funding for this critical initiative. The HUD/VA Appropriations bill passed by the House provides for only 17,700 Welfare to Work Housing Vouchers. The bill passed by the Senate provides for only 7,000 housing vouchers.
- Congress would make cuts in programs to help farmers, including

outreach programs to help minority and women farmers apply for government programs and with other technical assistance.

Restrictions on Family Planning and Abortion:

- The President's request to increase funding for family planning services at clinics by \$15 million would be denied by the House and the Senate. The House would deny any additional funds and the Senate would underfund the President's budget by \$3 million.
- A House provision would limit the ability of family planning clinics to help prevent unintended pregnancies by requiring minors to either receive parental consent or provide advance notice before receiving contraceptives.
- A provision in the House would prohibit the FDA from testing, developing, or approving any drug for the chemical inducement of abortion, which would include RU-486, thereby usurping the Agency's role in making scientific determinations about the effect of drugs on the safety and health of the American people.
- While maintaining current restrictions on FEHBP coverage of abortions, the House bill further tightens access by denying currently legal abortion coverage, i.e., danger to the mother's life, rape or incest. The Senate bill continues the current restrictions on FEHBP coverage of abortions.
- Both the House and Senate would prohibit the Bureau of Prisons from funding abortions, except in the cases of rape, incest, or the life of the mother.
- Both the House and Senate would retain and expand the Hyde Amendment, which severely limits the use of funds in the Labor/HHS bill for abortion.
- A provision in the House bars the use of U.S. population funds for non-governmental organizations if the organization uses any of its own resources for abortion-related services.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 11, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Hyatt Regency Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
Room 101 OEOB

8:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President, for that wonderful introduction and for being such a great partner in the campaign of 1992 and in this administration.

I think it fair to say that Vice President Gore has already exercised a larger role in this administration than perhaps any Vice President in the history of this country. And I hope he will continue to do so. (Applause.)

I'm honored to be here with Ralph Neas and with my longtime friend, Benjamin Hooks. (Applause.) Don't you just love to hear Ben talk? (Laughter.) I mean, really, I could hear him intone those points from now until tomorrow morning. (Laughter.) Reminding me of the rhythms of my childhood and the faith of our parents.

I'm proud to be here with all of you tonight, not only because of what you have done for the last four decades and more, but because of what together we must do now. I'm proud of your commitment to civil rights. I'm proud to be here with our Attorney General Janet Reno, who is the embodiment of that. (Applause.)

I thank you for the vote of the national board of the Leadership Conference today to support the nomination of Lani Guinier to be assistant attorney general for civil rights. (Applause.)

I want to say a special word of support for Lani Guinier. I went to law school with her and I announced at the Justice Department the other day when we announced all of our assistant attorneys general that she had actually sued me once. (Laughter.) Not only that, she didn't lose. (Laughter.) And I nominated her anyway. (Laughter.) So the Senate ought to be able to put up with a little controversy in the cause of civil rights and go on and confirm her so we can get about the business of America. (Applause.)

I want to say, too, how honored I am to be here with your honorees, my friend, Dorothy Height from the freedom schools in Mississippi to the Black Family Reunion. (Applause.) What a guiding spirit she has been to all of us. I want to take my hat off to Raul Yzaguirre for his leading voice. (Applause.)

Over 20 years ago, I first came in contact with La Raza as a movement and a commitment. And I have watched them over these years help people all across the country with the practical problems of life which give real meaning to the idea of civil rights, when you can actually live in a decent house and have a decent job and know your kids are going to get a decent education, and know that you're going to be treated fairly no matter what your race is.

I want to say, too, how very much I admire Justin Dart -- (applause) -- for all the work that he's done as Chair of the

MORE

President's Commission on Employment of People with Disabilities and leader in making the Americans with Disabilities Act come to life. You know, Justin, every time we went anywhere in the campaign and had a rally, we always had a section for people with disabilities. Today I went to a suburb north of Chicago, in a heavily Republican community, as it turned out, to meet with a bunch of students from the high school that I was visiting and other high schools and people in the community. And we had a big section there for the students with disabilities. And I was thinking as I was coming over here tonight, a lot of those kids are where they are today because of what you did. And you ought to be proud of that. (Applause.)

Sitting in the front of the row so they can ask the President their questions and shake hands with the President; instead of being overlooked, being uplifted. I say that to you to make one introductory point. I've been here for 100 days and a some, fighting to break the gridlock in Washington. And sometimes I think the biggest gridlock of all is the gridlock in our minds. (Applause.) The hold that foolish notions have on our imaginations.

I have been roundly attacked by people on the extreme right trying to make me look like some radical left-winger because I had this crazy notion that I ought to have an administration that would have some diversity and give women as well as men and people of color as well as people that look like me the chance to serve if they could meet high standards of excellence. And there are people who say, well -- and I see these relentless articles in the paper, oh, that's why no appointments are being made. Well, so in 100 days I show up at the Justice Department and I ask for the totals -- pass me the envelope, please. (Laughter.) And it turns out that in spite of my commitment to diversity and excellence, after 100 days my predecessor had made 99 appointments, his predecessor, President Reagan, had made 152 appointments, and I'd made 173. Where are they? (Applause.)

And I expected to see the shameless right in sack cloth and ashes, saying that we had falsely accused this poor President in promoting gridlock. (Laughter.) But they have no shame. (Laughter and applause.) And the people who are promoting these ideas -- let me tell you something: Today when I was in Illinois, a young, handsome, fine looking Hispanic man stood up and said, "I have joined the United States Army. And I'm proud that I'm going to serve my country. And I know we've got to cut the military budget, but I want to know if you're going to cut it so much that I can't give my whole career to my country if I want to."

And I thought to myself, why doesn't somebody point out to all these people who have attacked us for trying to open the doors of opportunities that the number one, most successful institution in the United States of America for giving opportunities to women and people of color are the United States military branches. (Applause.) They have done it with a commitment to excellence and opportunity. And what we've got to do is to prove that the rest of us can do so as well. And we ought not to make this a partisan issue, and the guardians of gridlock should stop trying to use it to move arguments around that indicate that there's somehow something wrong with the President who believes that everybody who can serve ought to have the chance to do so. (Applause.)

This administration is committed to the enforcement of the civil rights laws. This administration is also committed to programs like national service that give everybody the possibility of being part of a new era of civic responsibility. This administration is committed to guaranteeing that every American is entitled to a fair chance at the brass ring, but even more important, to empowering people to seize those opportunities; to moving beyond the incredible gridlock in the mind of this town that you either have to give somebody something for nothing or take it all off the table.

Why don't we behave in Washington the way people behave in their normal lives? We need opportunity and responsibility. (Applause.) Why don't we stop making these nutty arguments that imply that everything in life is an either-or proposition -- we're either going to write somebody a check and bust the government budget, or we're just going to stick it to them and walk away? That's not the way life works.

You know, civil rights should embody a country that works. We don't want to guarantee everybody equal employment opportunities when there are no jobs. Does that mean that we have to sacrifice one and not the other? No, it means you should have a President who will pursue both -- walking and chewing gum at the same time. (Applause.) That's what this is about. Is that right? (Laughter.)

We want to guarantee everybody an equal opportunity to get an education, but wouldn't it be nice if the education you're getting is also better? (Applause.) It's not either-or. We want to guarantee everybody the right to health care and family security through health care. But wouldn't it be nice if you live in a rural area or in the heart of a big city if there happen to be a clinic to visit. (Applause.)

I just am amazed after 100 days to find that a lot of the gridlock that had gripped this city for so long is in the imposition of what one writer had called false choices on all of us who are supposed to make policy. It never occurred to me that I should appoint somebody who wasn't qualified to a job. (Laughter.)

You know, I don't wake up in the morning thinking, you know I need to find some female Latino who is totally unqualified to put in a job. (Laughter.) Or neither did it ever occur to me that every white man I appoint is going to hit a home run every day. But that is the kind of rhetoric you see running beneath so much of the characterization when we try to change 12 years of attitudes. The same people that were criticizing the previous administrations for being insensitive to civil rights immediately turned around and say, oh, there's too much -- too much -- attention being given to ethnicity and gender.

And that's why no appointments are being made. So the record comes in and I'm still waiting for the acknowledgement. I tell you, folks, I refuse to believe that we cannot go forward together. That we cannot set an example; that we cannot make progress. I refuse to believe that you can't be committed to civil rights and to civic responsibility. I refuse to believe that we can't create economic opportunity by empowering people to seize control of their destiny and changing the government's policies.

And I think that if this Leadership Council should have any mission today, it should be to break through those barriers that push us all into one extreme camp or the other and make us mute in the face of reality and common sense. Surely we can bring the experience of our own lives and the lives of our fellow Americans beyond the borders of this city to the policy-making process that will dominate Washington for the next year. That is what we ought to do if we want civil rights to come alive in this country. (Applause.)

You know, when I ran for this job I spent a lot of time in African American churches because I always had -- and because I felt at home. When I got this job and I sought to protect the religious and civil liberties of every American, it was because I wanted mine protected and because I have a sharp memory of what it was like to live in a society where half the people I knew, because of their color, were treated as second-class citizens.

I also have a sharp memory of those who had the courage to try to change that position. And now that I am President, I want you to know that I'll make my mistakes from time to time, but I'm going to keep trying to move the ball forward. I believe we can make advances. I don't believe that our fights are over. I know that there are still civil rights battles to be fought, but I know that they need to be fought today in the context of making a real difference in real people's lives. And we should not be intimidated, those of us who believe in the cause of civil rights for all Americans, into thinking that somehow that can be separated from the fight for economic justice, and economic progress, and making our free enterprise system work better. (Applause.)

And we should not let people who basically don't care whether we make progress in civil rights think that you can separate civil rights from the fight for substantive improvements in education and for meaningful advances in health care, or any other area of our national life. Let us resolve tonight that we're going to spend the next four years breaking down the gridlock by starting, by tearing down the artificial barriers in people's minds to bringing us together, saying we don't have a person to waste, and lifting up everybody's God-given potential, and doing what we can to see that they achieve it.

Thank you very much and God bless you.

END

8:16 P.M. EDT



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Subject: 1997-09/25 remarks by President at Central High

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Little Rock, Arkansas)

For Immediate Release

September 25, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN CEREMONY COMMEMORATING
THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
DESEGREGATION OF CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

Central High School
Little Rock, Arkansas

11:10 A.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Governor and Mrs. Huckabee; Mayor and Mrs. Dailey; my good friend, Daisy Bates, and the families of Wylie Branton and Justice Thurgood Marshall. To the co-chairs of this event, Mr. Howard, and all the faculty and staff here at Central High; to Fatima and her fellow students -- (applause) --to all my fellow Americans: Hillary and I are glad to be home, especially on this day. And we thank you for your welcome. (Applause.)

I would also be remiss if I did not say one other word, just as a citizen. You know, we just sent our daughter off to college, and for eight and a half years she got a very good education in the Little Rock school district. And I want to thank you all for that. (Applause.)

On this beautiful, sun-shiny day, so many wonderful words have already been spoken with so much conviction, I am reluctant to add to them. But I must ask you to remember once more and to ask yourselves, what does what

happened here 40 years ago mean today. What does it tell us, most importantly, about our children's tomorrows.

Forty years ago, a single image first seared the heart and stirred the conscience of our nation; so powerful most of us who saw it then recall it still. A 15-year-old girl wearing a crisp black and white dress, carrying only a notebook, surrounded by large crowds of boys and girls, men and women, soldiers and police officers, her head held high, her eyes fixed straight ahead. And she is utterly alone.

On September 4th, 1957, Elizabeth Eckford walked to this door for her first day of school, utterly alone. She was turned away by people who were afraid of change, instructed by ignorance, hating what they simply could not understand. And

America saw her, haunted and taunted for the simple color of her skin, and in the image we caught a very disturbing glimpse of ourselves.

We saw not one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, but two Americas, divided and unequal. What happened here changed the course of our country here forever. Like Independence Hall where we first embraced the idea that God created us all equal. Like Gettysburg, where Americans fought and died over whether we would remain one nation, moving closer to the true meaning of equality. Like them, Little Rock is historic ground. For, surely it was here at Central High that we took another giant step close to the idea of America.

Elizabeth Eckford, along with her eight schoolmates, were turned away on September 4th, but the Little Rock Nine did not turn back. Forty years ago today, they climbed these steps, passed through this door, and moved our nation. And for that, we must all thank them. (Applause.)

Today, we honor those who made it possible -- their parents first. As Eleanor Roosevelt said of them, "To give your child for a cause is even harder than to give yourself." To honor my friend, Daisy Bates and Wylie Branton and Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP, and all who guided these children; to honor President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell, and the men of the 101st Airborne who enforced the Constitution; to honor every student, every teacher, every minister, every Little Rock resident, black or white, who offered a word of kindness, a glance of respect, or a hand of friendship; to honor those who gave us the opportunity to be part of this day of celebration and rededication.

But most of all we come to honor the Little Rock Nine. Most of us who have just watched these events unfold can

never understand fully the sacrifice they made. Imagine, all of you, what it would be like to come to school one day and be shoved against lockers, tripped down stairways, taunted day after day by your classmates, to go all through school with no hope of going to a school play or being on a basketball team or learning in simple peace.

Speaking of simple peace, I'd like a little of it today. (Applause.)

I want all these children here to look at these people. They persevered. They endured. And they prevailed. But it was at great cost to themselves.

As Melba said years later in her wonderful memoir, *Warriors Don't Cry*, "My friends and I paid for the integration of Little Rock Central High with our innocence."

Folks, in 1957, I was 11 years old, living 50 miles away in Hot Springs, when the eyes of the world were fixed here. Like almost all Southerners then, I never attended school with a person of another race until I went to college. But as a young boy in my grandfather's small grocery store, I learned lessons that nobody bothered to teach me in my segregated school. My grandfather had a 6th grade education from a tiny rural school. He never made a bit of money. But in that store, in the way he treated his customers and encouraged me to play with their children, I learned America's most profound lessons: We really are all equal. We really do have the right to live in dignity. We really do have the right to be treated with respect. We do have the right to be heard.

I never knew how he and my grandmother came to those convictions, but I'll never forget how they lived them. Ironically, my grandfather died in 1957. He never lived to see America come around to his way of thinking. But I know he's smiling down today not on his grandson, but on the Little Rock Nine, who gave up their innocence so all good people could have a chance to live their dreams. (Applause.)

But let me tell you something else that was true about that time. Before Little Rock, for me and other white children, the struggles of black people, whether we were sympathetic or hostile to them, were mostly background music in our normal, self-absorbed lives. We were all, like you, more concerned about our friends and our lives, day in and day out. But then we saw what was happening in our own back yard, and we all had to deal with it. Where did we stand? What did we believe? How did we want to live? It was Little Rock that made racial equality a driving obsession in my life.

Years later, time and chance made Ernie Green my

friend. Good fortune brought me to the Governor's Office, where I did all I could to heal the wounds, solve the problems, open the doors so we could become the people we say we want to be.

Ten years ago, the Little Rock Nine came back to the Governor's Mansion when I was there. I wanted them to see that the power of the office that once had blocked their way now welcomed them. But like so many Americans, I can never fully repay my debt to these nine people. For, with their innocence, they purchased more freedom for me, too, and for all white people. People like Hazel Brown Massery, the angry taunter of Elizabeth Eckford, who stood with her in front of this school this week as a reconciled friend. (Applause.) And with the gift of their innocence, they taught us that all too often what ought to be can never be for free.

Forty years later, what do you young people in this audience believe we have learned? Well, 40 years later, we know that we all benefit -- all of us -- when we learn together, work together, and come together. That is, after all, what it means to

be an American. (Applause.)

Forty years later, we know, notwithstanding some cynics, that all our children can learn, and this school proves it. (Applause.) Forty years later, we know when the constitutional rights of our citizens are threatened, the national government must guarantee them. Talk is fine, but when they are threatened, you need strong laws faithfully enforced and upheld by independent courts. (Applause.)

Forty years later, we know there are still more doors to be opened, doors to be opened wider, doors we have to keep from being shut again now. Forty years later, we know freedom and equality cannot be realized without responsibility for self, family, and the duties of citizenship, or without a commitment to building a community of shared destiny and a genuine sense of belonging.

Forty years later, we know the question of race is more complex and more important than ever -- embracing no longer just blacks and whites or blacks and whites and Hispanics and Native Americans, but now people from all parts of the Earth coming here to redeem the promise of America.

Forty years later, frankly, we know we're bound to come back where we started. After all the weary years and silent tears, after all the stony roads and bitter rides, the question of race is in the end still an affair of the heart. (Applause.)

But if these are our lessons, what do we have to do? First, we must all reconcile. Then we must all face the facts of

today. And finally we must act. Reconciliation is important not only for those who practice bigotry, but for those whose resentment of it lingers, for both are prisons from which our spirits.

If Nelson Mandela, who paid for the freedom of his people with 27 of the best years of his life, could invite his jailers to his inauguration and ask even the victims of violence to forgive their oppressors, then each of us can seek and give forgiveness. (Applause.)

And what are the facts? It is a fact, my fellow Americans, that there are still too many places where opportunity for education and work are not equal, where disintegration of family and neighborhood make it more difficult. But it is also a fact that schools and neighborhoods and lives can be turned around if, but only if, we are prepared to do what it takes.

It is a fact that there are still too many places where our children die or give up before they bloom, where they are trapped in a web of crime and violence and drugs. But we know this too can be changed, but only if we are prepared to do what it takes.

Today children of every race walk through the same door, but then they often walk down different halls. Not only in this school but across America, they sit in different classrooms, they eat at different tables. They even sit in different parts of the bleachers at the football game. Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian. Indeed, too many Americans of all races have actually begun to give up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground.

For the first time since the 1950s, our schools in America are resegregating. The rollback of affirmative action is slamming shut the doors of higher education on a new generation, while those who oppose it have not yet put forward any other alternative. (Applause.)

In so many ways, we still hold ourselves back. We retreat into the comfortable enclaves of ethnic isolation. We just don't deal with people who are different from us. Segregation is no longer the law, but too often, separation is still the rule. And we cannot forget one stubborn fact that has not yet been said as clearly as it should. There is still discrimination in America. (Applause.)

There are still people who can't get over it, who can't let it go, who can't go through the day unless they have somebody else to look down on. And it manifests itself in our streets and in our neighborhoods and in the workplace and in the schools. And it is wrong. And we have to keep working on it

--not just with our voices, but with our laws. And we have to engage each other in it.

Of course, we should celebrate our diversity. The marvelous blend of cultures and beliefs and races has always enriched America, and it is our meal ticket to the 21st century. But we also have to remember with the painful lessons of the civil wars and the ethnic cleansing around the world, that any nation that indulges itself in destructive separatism will not be able to meet and master these challenges of the 21st century. (Applause.)

We have to decide -- all you young people have to decide -- will we stand as a shining example, or a stunning rebuke to the world of tomorrow? For the alternative to integration is not isolation or a new separate but equal, it is disintegration.

Only the American idea is strong enough to hold us together. We believe, whether our ancestors came here in slave ships or on the Mayflower, whether they came through the portals of Ellis Island or on a plane to San Francisco, whether they have been here for thousands of years, we believe that every individual possesses the spark of possibility; born with an equal right to strive and work and rise as far as they can go, and born

with an equal responsibility to act in a way that obeys the law, reflects our values and passes them on to their children. We are white and black, Asian and Hispanic, Christian and Jew and Muslim, Italian and Vietnamese and Polish Americans and goodness knows how many more today. But above all, we are still Americans. Martin Luther King said, "We are woven into a seamless garment of destiny. We must be one America."

The Little Rock Nine taught us that. We cannot have one America for free. Not 40 years ago, not today. We have to act. All of us have to act. Each of us has to do something. Especially our young people must seek out people who are different from themselves and speak freely and frankly to discover they share the same dreams. All of us should embrace the vision of a colorblind society, but recognize the fact that we are not there yet and we cannot slam shut the doors of educational and economic opportunity. (Applause.)

All of us should embrace ethnic pride and we should revere religious conviction, but we must reject separation and isolation. All of us should value and practice personal responsibility for ourselves and our families. And all Americans, especially our young people, should give something back to their community through citizen service. (Applause.) All Americans of all races must insist on both equal opportunity and excellence in education. That is even more important today than it was for these nine people; and look how far they took

themselves with their education. (Applause.)

The true battleground in education today is whether we honestly believe that every child can learn, and we have the courage to set high academic standards we expect all our children to meet. We must not replace the tyranny of segregation with the tragedy of low expectations. I will not rob a single American child of his or her future. It is wrong. (Applause.)

My fellow Americans, we must be concerned not so much with the sins of our parents as with the success of our children, how they will live and live together in years to come. If those nine children could walk up those steps 40 years ago, all alone, if their parents could send them into the storm armed only with school books and the righteousness of their cause, then surely together we can build one America -- an America that makes sure no future generation of our children will have to pay for our mistakes with the loss of their innocence. (Applause.)

At this schoolhouse door today, let us rejoice in the long way we have come these 40 years. Let us resolve to stand on the shoulders of the Little Rock Nine and press on with confidence in the hard and noble work ahead. Let us lift every voice and sing, "till earth and heaven ring," one America today, one America tomorrow, one America forever.

God bless the Little Rock Nine, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

11:30 A.M. CDT

Message Sent To: _____

LAW OFFICES
OF
WILLIAM L. TAYLOR

2000 M STREET, N.W., STE. 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

File
Civil rights

WILLIAM L. TAYLOR
DIANNE M. PICHE*

TELEPHONE
(202) 659-5565

MEMORANDUM

To: Melanne Verveer
From: Bill Taylor *Bill*
Date: September 23, 1997
Re: A Suggestion for the President's Little Rock Speech

It seems to me that the commemoration in Little Rock will give President Clinton an opportunity to make a couple of cogent points about the current attacks on the judges and judicial nominees and the need for an independent judiciary.

1) The Independence of the Judiciary and the Rule of Law. The Supreme Court's unanimous decision after an extraordinary summer hearing in 1958 not to postpone the desegregation of Little Rock public schools because of "extreme public hostility" was the most important affirmation of the rule of law in this century. The Court said "Marbury v. Madison... declared the basic principle that the federal judiciary is supreme in the exposition of the law of the Constitution and that principle has ever since been respected by this Court and the Country as a permanent and indispensable feature of our constitutional system. It follows that the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment enunciated by the Court in the Brown case is the Supreme Law of the land...Every state legislator and judicial officer is solely committed by oath...'to support this Constitution'" Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1,18 (1958).

Yet today, almost 40 years later, some members of Congress would impeach federal judges who carry out in good conscience their duty to interpret the Constitution and some members would delay indefinitely the confirmation of judicial nominees who do not pledge to interpret the Constitution in precisely the way the member wants it interpreted. These tactics threaten the independence of the judiciary and indeed threaten the rule of law that has been respected from Marbury through Little Rock and to this day .

2) Judicial Independence and the Rule of Law are not partisan matters. In the Little Rock case, the Court took the extraordinary step of having each justice individually sign the Court's opinion. The Court was almost equally divided between justices who had been Democrats and those who had been Republicans. It included such respected figures as Earl Warren, Harold Burton and John Harlan. What is needed today is a similar bipartisan coalition of people who are prepared to defend the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary. All of us, Democrats and Republicans, liberal, moderates and conservatives, can name court decisions that we think are dead wrong. But there are appropriate ways to seek the correction of error and inappropriate ways. Impeachment threats and nomination delays are inappropriate; worse, they threaten the Courts' role as the bulwark of our liberties.

I hope this is of some help.

cc: Judy Winston



Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

1629 "K" St., NW, Suite 1010
Washington, D.C. 20006
202/466-3311

file civil rts

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(*D000000)

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE 05/10/93 **TIME** _____
SENT TO (PERSON): Melanne Verveer
(ORGANIZATION): Office of The First Lady
(FAX NUMBER): 202-6244
FROM (PERSON): Ralph Nease
(ORGANIZATION): LCCR
(PHONE): 202/466-3311 **(FAX NO.):** 202/466-3425

TOTAL # OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 3

SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENT SENT: _____

LEGISLATIVE ISSUE (IF ANY): _____

"Equality In a Free, Plural, Democratic Society"

“Equality
in a free, plural,
democratic
society”



LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
ON CIVIL
RIGHTS

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/667-1780



"For almost four decades, the Leadership Conference has been the coordinating mechanism for civil rights advocacy before the Congress and the Executive Branch."

Representative
Don Edwards



Origin and Scope

The Leadership Conference was founded in 1950 by A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson to implement the historic report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights."

Beginning with 30 organizations, the Leadership Conference has grown in numbers, scope and effectiveness. Today, it consists of approximately 185 national organizations representing minorities, labor, women, the major religious groups, disabled persons and older Americans.

The organizations speak for a substantial majority of our population and, together, comprise the most broadly based coalition in the nation. The members differ in size, structure and broad objective, but are united in a common commitment to the principles set forth in the Leadership Conference Statement of Purpose:

- We are committed to an integrated, democratic, plural society in which every individual is accorded equal rights, equal opportunities and equal justice without regard to race, sex, religion, ethnic origin, handicap or age; and in which every group is accorded an equal opportunity to enter fully into the general life of the society with mutual acceptance and regard for difference.
- We believe that this goal can and must be achieved through peaceful, democratic means and within the American political system.
- The responsibility for achieving our goals is shared by all Americans who believe in justice and equality. Accordingly, there can be no distinctions based on race, sex, religion, ethnic origin, handicap or age among those engaged in the common effort to achieve them.

When the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights was organized, segregation in many states was sanctioned in law as well as in practice. Discrimination was widespread in government and in society as a whole. No Federal civil rights law had been enacted since Reconstruction.

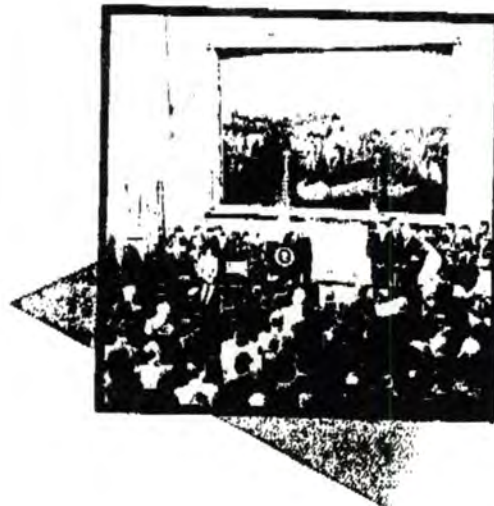
Beginning with the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Leadership Conference coordinated the campaigns that resulted in passage of all the civil rights laws of this century, including the landmark Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964; the Voting Rights Act of 1965; the Fair Housing Act of 1968, and the 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act. LCCR has also coordinated the campaigns that resulted in the rejection of the nominations of Clement Haynsworth, G. Harrold Carswell and Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

The civil rights laws passed during this century prohibit discrimination in education, employment, housing, voting, public accommodations and access to all Federal programs and guarantee full political rights to every American. These rights alone, however, are not sufficient to assure equality. Accordingly, the Leadership Conference expanded its definition of civil rights to mean "not only the establishment and enforcement of rights in law, but also the realization of social and economic conditions in which alone the fulfillment of these rights is possible."

"The Leadership Conference, time and again, has successfully defended our most fundamental civil rights against those who would turn back the clock."

Senator Edward Kennedy

To this end, the Leadership Conference has committed itself to establishing as a matter of right—a useful job at a decent wage for all who are employable or who can be made so by training or retraining; an income sufficient to provide all others with the essentials for living in dignity and self-respect; decent housing in a decent environment for all; medical care for all in health, sickness and disability; and education to the limit of each person's capacity to benefit from it.



"In challenging times, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has helped maintain the nation's bipartisan commitment to equal opportunity for all citizens."

Senator Lowell Weicker

Major Activities	<i>Legislative Action</i> Legislative activity is coordinated by the Legislative Committee, composed of Washington representatives of participating organizations. The ongoing day to day lobbying efforts of the Leadership Conference are carried forward by these representatives, many of whom are full time lobbyists. The Committee plans strategy, analyzes bills and issues and undertakes assignments. These efforts are supplemented by testimony before Congressional Committees and by grassroots support from local affiliates of member groups.	Policy and Membership	The highest governing body and policy-making authority of the Leadership Conference is the National Board composed of one representative from each participating organization. The Board meets once a year. Between the annual meetings, policy is set by the Executive Committee, a portion of which is rotated annually. The Executive Committee meets every two months. Policies are established by consensus. The Leadership Conference is financed almost entirely by membership dues from its constituent groups.
	<i>Enforcement</i> Laws enacted must be effectively enforced. To insure that, the Leadership Conference's Committee on Compliance and Enforcement monitors civil rights programs in Federal agencies. The Committee is organized into Task Forces on education, employment, housing, the immigration law's anti-discrimination provisions, and women's rights. These Task Forces review government activities, present testimony, submit suggestions for rules and regulations and meet with Cabinet officials and agency administrators.		To be eligible for membership, organizations must subscribe to the principles and purposes of the Leadership Conference, be national in scope and conduct an ongoing civil rights program. Participating organizations retain their autonomy and distinct identities and are the sole arbiters of their own positions and programs. Policies and recommendations are not binding upon members. Membership carries with it the opportunity to participate in all activities and to serve on all Task Forces and committees.
Communications	Participating organizations are kept abreast of what happens in Congress and in Federal agencies through: • Committee and Task Force meetings; • LCCR updates that alert organizations to current legislative developments; • Testimony and analyses of bills; • Reports, pamphlets and position papers; • Speakers for meetings and conventions.	Leadership Conference Education Fund	The Leadership Conference Education Fund is an independent research organization established to support educational activities relevant to civil rights. Its activities are eligible for foundation grants and tax deductible contributions. The LCEF publishes the <i>Civil Rights Monitor</i>, a bimonthly newsletter reviewing the civil rights enforcement activities of the Federal Government.



Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

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202/466-3311

May 11, 1993

Contact: Ralph G. Neas (202/466-3311)

THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS: 43 YEARS OF EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY

A. LCCR - The Legislative Arm of the Civil Rights Movement

Today, President Bill Clinton (tentatively scheduled to attend), Vice President Al Gore, Attorney General Janet Reno, and dozens of Administration officials and Democratic and Republican members of Congress are scheduled to join over 1000 guests in celebrating the 43rd birthday of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR).

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is the nation's oldest, largest, and broadest coalition. Established in 1950, the nonpartisan coalition, which operates by consensus, consists of approximately 185 national organizations representing minorities, women, persons with disabilities, older Americans, labor, gays and lesbians, and major religious groups. Well over 50 million Americans pay dues to these LCCR organizations.¹

For 43 years, LCCR has been the legislative arm of the civil rights movement. Indeed, the Leadership Conference has coordinated the national campaigns on behalf of every major civil rights law since 1957.

B. The Reagan-Bush Years : The Bipartisan Legislative Successes

Despite the fact that for the first time in decades two branches of the federal government were openly hostile to civil rights, the Leadership Conference was able to implement most of its broad and diverse legislative agenda during the Reagan-Bush administrations. In fact, those twelve years were marked, legislatively, by a bipartisan reaffirmation of civil rights laws and remedies and by a bipartisan repudiation of the right wing legal philosophy.

From 1981 through 1992, two dozen civil rights laws were enacted including:

- o The 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension
- o The Martin Luther King Holiday Bill
- o The Civil Rights Restoration Act
- o The Japanese-American Redress Bill
- o The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988
- o The Americans with Disabilities Act
- o The Civil Rights Act of 1991

¹ Approximately 45 national organizations joined LCCR during the Reagan-Bush years.

Page 2

o The Language Assistance Improvement Act of
1992

In almost all of these legislative efforts, bipartisan majorities of well over 70% supported final passage.²

In addition, the Family and Medical Leave Act, vetoed previously by President Bush, was enacted into law in early 1993. The "Moter Voter" voter registration reform bill should be enacted into law shortly.

Perhaps of nearly equal importance, the bipartisan congressional coalition did not allow the right wing to enact one major item on its regressive legislative agenda.

For a comprehensive summary of the congressional civil rights record during the Reagan-Bush years, please see the enclosed memorandum.

C. The Downside of The Reagan-Bush Years

Despite the considerable successes achieved by the civil rights coalition and its Congressional allies, there was also a tremendous downside to the Reagan-Bush years on civil rights matters. Rightwingers at the White House, the Justice Department, and elsewhere dismantled an effective civil rights enforcement mechanism in the Executive Branch. Using the issue of quotas as a smokescreen, the Justice Department relentlessly attempted to turn back the clock on civil rights enforcement with respect to voting, education, employment, housing and the Federal funding of programs. It will take years to repair the extensive damage and the resultant racial tensions.

Perhaps the most frustrating consequence of the Reagan-Bush presidencies was that they forced the nation to refight the civil rights battles that had been won during the 1960's and 1970's. While those battles were won once again, Congress, the civil rights community, and the nation had to devote an inordinate amount of time, energy, and resources in waging these rearguard actions. Consequently, while the legal achievements of the past 30 years were preserved, the nation by and large was unable to address with full strength the unfinished agenda of the civil rights movement -the quest for economic justice. That is a profound tragedy.

Indeed, public and private studies show that the poor as a group are worse off today than they were in 1981. The plague of poverty has created a sizable underclass in the population, especially in our large urban areas. If we continue to ignore issues of educational, employment, and housing opportunity, the

² The principal legislative strategy for all the Leadership Conference efforts has been the enactment of the strongest possible bipartisan bill.

Page 3

problems engendered by our neglect could endanger the stability and prosperity of our nation.

One of the worst consequences of the Reagan-Bush presidencies was a virtual takeover of the federal judiciary. Indeed, presidents Reagan and Bush appointed approximately two-thirds of the current federal judiciary. They used these appointments to name a large number of judges who were unsympathetic to the rights and interests of minorities, women, and the poor. There is no question that it is now much more difficult for victims of discrimination to get into court, to prove discrimination once they are in court, and to obtain effective remedies if they are able to prove discrimination.

While the Rehnquist-Scalia-Thomas wing of the Supreme Court commands enough support to erode well established civil rights precedents, it appears that they do not have the votes to overturn them. With a bit of luck, the right-wing influence on the court may have peaked during 1992 and the Court may start moving in a more progressive direction.

D. The LCCR Agenda For The 103rd Congress

With two branches of government once again controlled by progressives committed to equality of opportunity, we are confident that civil rights initiatives will continue to be successful.

1. Legislative Agenda

a. Anti-Discrimination Measures

Priorities include the "Moter Voter" Bill, the Equal Remedies Act, the Justice for Wards Cove Workers Act, the Voting Rights Extension Act (legislation to overturn Supreme Court decision which weakened section 5 of the Voting Rights Act), legislation to prohibit discrimination against gays and lesbians, and the New Columbia Admissions Act.

b. Equal Economic Opportunity Issues

The Leadership Conference especially looks forward to working with Congress and the Clinton Administration in addressing economic opportunity issues, including health care reform; affordable housing; economic security, particularly for women and children; child care; Head Start and other early educational opportunities; and economic empowerment issues, especially in the inner cities. Economic opportunity is an area where there could be considerable

Page 4

common ground, not only between the civil rights community and the Administration, but also between the civil rights community and the business community, and even between the civil rights community and the "economic empowerment" wing of the Republican Party.

2. Executive Branch Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

In addition to supporting legislation addressing economic opportunity issues and anti-discrimination measures, we believe that the Clinton Administration will fully and effectively enforce the civil rights laws presently on the books, including the spate of legislation enacted over the last several years.

But most importantly, we believe that President Clinton will also vigorously use the presidency as a bully pulpit to call for racial reconciliation and to exert moral leadership on behalf of equal opportunity issues, explaining why civil rights laws were enacted in the first place, why they are still needed, and why they benefit all Americans.



Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

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MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS (1981-1992)

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Liss M. Maywood
POLICY/RESEARCH ASSOCIATE
Karen McGill Arrington

(* Deceased)

o Enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1991

After a two-year battle between the Bush Administration and a bipartisan Congress, legislation was enacted overturning eight Supreme Court decisions which had made it more difficult for victims of discrimination to get into court and to prove discrimination (the first time Congress has ever overturned more than one Supreme Court decision at one time). The Civil Rights Act of 1991 also provides for the first time compensatory and punitive damages for women, persons with disabilities, and certain religious minorities who are victims of intentional job discrimination.

o Enactment of the Voting Rights Language Assistance Act of 1992

Extended and strengthened Section 203, the bilingual provisions of the Voting Rights Act.

o Defeat of the Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment (1992)

o Enactment of the Civil Liberties Act Amendments of 1992

o Enactment of the Reauthorization of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1992)

o Congressional Passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act (1992)

Successfully vetoed by President Bush.

o Congressional Passage of Voter Registration Reform, the "Motor Voter" bill (1992)

Successfully vetoed by President Bush

o Defeat of the Helms Amendments to Ban Affirmative Action Remedies (1991)

The Senate, by 2-1 margins, twice blocked attempts by Senator Jesse Helms to ban

"Equality In a Free, Plural, Democratic Society"

affirmative action remedies. Democratic and Republican Senators made the point that while they opposed quotas because they are illegal and unfair (except under the rarest judicial circumstances), they supported affirmative action remedies, including goals and timetables, that are lawful and effective.

- o Enactment of the Reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (1991)
- o Defeat of the Kenneth Rykamp Nomination to the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals (1991)
- o The Clarence Thomas Supreme Court Nomination (1991)

The Leadership Conference opposed the Thomas nomination on the basis of his judicial philosophy and his record as a public official at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and at the Department of Education. The 48 votes against Thomas were the most ever against a nominee confirmed to the Supreme Court.

- o Enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990)

The most significant and dramatic civil rights law in two decades. Provides civil rights protections in employment, transportation, communications, and public accommodations for the 43 million Americans with disabilities.

- o Congressional Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1990

President Bush successfully vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1990. 65% of Congress supported the measure. Marked the first time that both Houses of Congress passed a major civil rights bill in the second session of a Congress.

- o Enactment of the Minority Farmers Rights Act (1990)
- o Enactment of the Reauthorization of the Education of Handicapped Children's Act (1990)
- o Congressional Passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act (1990)

President Bush successfully vetoed the FMLA.

- o House Passage of the Voter Registration Reform Bill ("Motor Voter" Bill) (1990)
- o House Passage of the Racial Justice Act (1990)

-3-

- o Enactment of the Japanese American Redress Entitlement Program (1989)
- o Enactment of the Reauthorization of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1989)
- o Enactment of Anti-Redlining Provisions in the 1989 Banking Reform Bill (1989)
- o Defeat of the William Lucas Nomination to be Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights (1989)
- o Enactment of the Hate-Crimes Statistics Act (1989)
- o Enactment of the Minimum Wage Increase (1989)
- o Enactment of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988
The new law for the first time provides an effective enforcement mechanism, prohibits discrimination against persons with disabilities, and prohibits discrimination against families with children.
- o Enactment of the Civil Rights Restoration Act (1988)
Climaxing an extraordinary four-year legislative struggle, Congress overrode a presidential veto and overturned the 1984 Supreme Court Grove City decision. The Civil Rights Restoration Act restores the broad coverage of the four major civil rights laws that prohibit the federal funding of discrimination against minorities, women, persons with disabilities, and older Americans.
- o Defeat of Bernard Siegan's Nomination to the Ninth Circuit Court Of Appeals (1988)
- o Enactment of the Japanese-American Redress Bill (1988)
Legislation apologizes to Japanese-Americans interned in prison camps in the United States during World War II and authorizes \$20,000 to each of those who are alive.
- o Passage of the House Resolution Protecting House Employees from Job Discrimination (1988)
- o Runyon Supreme Court Amicus Briefs (1988)
66 Senators and 145 House members signed a friend of the court brief asking the Supreme Court not to reverse the 1976 Runyon decision which prohibited intentional racial discrimination in the making and enforcing of private contracts. 110 civil rights organizations and 47 state attorneys general also submitted briefs.

-4-

- o Defeat of Robert Bork's Nomination to the United States Supreme Court (1987)
- o Civil Rights Commission (1986-1988)

Both Houses of Congress, in a demonstration of overwhelming bipartisanship, voted to repudiate the reconstituted Civil Rights Commission. Because the Commission is no longer independent, Congress dramatically reduced the Commission's funding and restricted how it could spend the money.

- o Enactment of the Age Discrimination in Employment Claims Assistance Act (1986)
- o Disability Legislation (1986)

Three measures were enacted, overturning Supreme Court decisions which had weakened disability rights.

- a. Handicapped Children's Protection Act: Overturned the Supreme Court's decision in Smith v. Robinson. Provides for the payment of legal fees for parties who successfully sue under the Education for All Handicapped Children's Act (P.L. 94-142).
- b. Civil Rights Remedy Equalization Act: Overturned the Supreme Court decision in Atascadero State Hospital v. Scanlon which created a large loophole by finding that the States' Eleventh Amendment immunity to suit in federal court had not been lifted by Section 504.
- c. Air Carrier Access Act of 1986: Introduced in response to the Supreme Court's decision in Department of Transportation v. Paralyzed Veterans of America which held that Section 504 was not applicable to commercial air carriers because they were not direct recipients of federal funds.
- o Defeat of Jeffrey Zuckerman Nomination to be General Counsel of EEOC (1986)
- o Defeat of Jeffrey Session's Nomination to Federal District Court (1986)
- o Enactment of Provisions in the 1986 Tax Reform Act Which Deleted Six Million Poor People from the Tax Rolls. Increased the Standard Deduction for Single Heads of Households and Raised the Level for the Earned Income Credit.
- o Preserving the Executive Order on Affirmative Action (1985-1986)

-5-

The campaign to preserve the Executive Order on Affirmative Action was successful. 70 Senators, more than 200 House members, and most of the business community contacted President Reagan asking him not to change the Executive Order.

o Enactment of South African Sanctions (1985-1986)

In the face of stiff resistance by the Reagan Administration, Congress twice enacted legislation imposing sanctions on South Africa. Both Houses overrode a presidential veto of the 1986 sanctions measure.

o Defeat of William Bradford Reynolds' Nomination to be Associate Attorney General (1985)

a. First official congressional rejection of Department of Justice civil rights record.

b. Shattered the myth that the issue of "quotas" was the only difference between the Administration and its critics. Judiciary Committee Senators demonstrated conclusively that Mr. Reynolds used quotas as a smokescreen while undermining virtually every area of civil rights enforcement (Voting Rights Act, fair housing, Bob Jones, employment discrimination, school desegregation, and the laws forbidding the funding of discrimination against minorities, women, disabled persons and older Americans, etc).

o Enactment of the Martin Luther King Holiday Bill (1983)

Introduced in every Congress since the late 1960's, this measure, despite initial White House opposition, passed in both Houses by more than a 3-1 margin.

o Preservation of the Legal Services Corporation (1981-1992)

Strong bipartisan majorities defeated the attempts to abolish the Corporation legislatively.

o Defeat of the Helms-East "Courtstripping" Bills (1981, '82, '85)

The courtstripping legislation would have taken away the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over certain controversial constitutional issues.

o Enactment of the Voting Accessibility for Disabled and Senior Citizens Act (1983)

-6-

Legislation to provide access to persons with disabilities and senior citizens.

- o Rejection of Reagan Administration's "Bob Jones Bill" (1982)

Supreme Court later repudiated the Department of Justice position on Bob Jones by an 8-1 vote.

- o Enactment of the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension

Passed House and Senate by votes of 389-24 and 85-8.

- a. Extended Section 5 of the VRA for 25 years, over 3 times longer than any previous extension.
- b. Overturned Mobile v. Bolden, the 1980 Supreme Court decision. The Supreme Court had held that the "intent" standard of proof was applicable to Section 2 Voting Rights Act cases. Congress reinstated the "results" standard. Profound positive ramification for all civil rights laws.
- c. Extended bilingual provisions of Act until 1992.

- o Enactment of Major Provisions of the Economic Equity Act, the Omnibus Measure to Eliminate Sex Discrimination in Key Economic Areas (1981-1986).

Parts of the EEA passed include the Pension Reform Act (1984), the Child Support Enforcement Act (1984), IRA's for Homemakers (1981), Estate Tax Reforms for Farm Widows (1981), Day Care Tax Credits (1981), Group Health Insurance Continuation (1985), Dependent Care (1986), and Military Pension Reform (1986), Equal Credit Protection Act (1988), the Medicare Catastrophic Act (1988), the Child Care in Public Housing Act (1988), Increased Funding for Title XX (Social Security) (1989), Maternal and Child Health Block Grant Increase in Funding (1989), Vocational Education Act (1990), Social Security Benefits for Disabled Widows and Widowers (1990), Displaced Homemakers First Time Home Buyers Program (1990), Immigration Reform for Battered Spouses (1990), Public Housing Prenatal Services (1990), Non-Traditional Employment for Women Act (1991) and the Glass Ceiling Act (1991).

IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT DURING THE REAGAN-BUSH YEARS, THE RIGHT WING FAILED TO ENACT ONE MAJOR MEASURE ON ITS REGRESSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA.

ID:

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Leadership Conference Education Fund

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. ■ Washington, D.C. 20036 ■ (202) 667-6243

F4I
RN

October 14, 1992

TO: Interested Persons

FROM: Ralph G. Neas Executive Director Karen McGill Arrington Deputy Director

RE: CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES

The Leadership Conference Education Fund is pleased to provide you with a package of essays on civil rights and social justice issues. With this mailing LCEF inaugurates a new service designed to be helpful to journalists, policy makers, civil rights advocates and others whose work brings them into contact with volatile civil and social justice issues.

LCEF has been disturbed by the misinformation that has been fed the public about these issues sometimes inadvertently and sometimes intentionally for political gain. There are difficult questions surrounding these issues, most particularly affirmative action, welfare and crime, three of the issues discussed in the package, but nothing is gained by preying on racial concerns, and using demagogic rhetoric. Our goal is to help inform the debate and to provide the public with a more balanced view of these issues.

CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES is a project of LCEF's Civil Rights Education Campaign. The campaign is managed by Karen McGill Arrington, Deputy Director. Overall supervision is provided by Ralph G. Neas, Executive Director. William L. Taylor, Vice President, serves as Senior Editor. Editorial assistance is also provided by Arnold Aronson, President, and Mary Frances Berry, Board Member. The Board and staff would like to acknowledge the contributions to this project of David Kusnet, writer; Sana Shtasel, attorney; and Judy Winston, attorney.

The purpose of LCEF's Civil Rights Education Campaign is to inform the public about the current state of civil rights and the need for the nation to remain vigilant in its struggle for equality of opportunity for all Americans. LCEF is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization that conducts research and educational activities on civil rights issues. Our goal is to strengthen the Nation's commitment to civil rights and equality of opportunity for all. Other ongoing projects include the development of

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Mary Frances Berry

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public service announcements in conjunction with the Advertising Council that promote tolerance, monitoring of the federal government's civil rights activities and disseminating the information through the CIVIL RIGHTS MONITOR, and a project on congressional and state legislative redistricting as it affects minority representation.

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Leadership Conference Education Fund

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CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES: UNDERSTANDING THE CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA

Introduction:

Almost five decades ago, a Committee appointed by President Harry S. Truman identified the issues of race and racism as among the most potent emotional and divisive issues in America. The Committee characterized succinctly the American dilemma concerning race, equality, and discrimination when it stated: "[t]he pervasive gap between our aims and what we actually do is a kind of moral dry rot which eats away at the emotional and rational bases of democratic beliefs."¹

Indeed, American politicians and political campaign strategists have grappled with these issues for many decades. They are often tempted to use race and racism to distort the issues and to appeal to the emotional vulnerability of Americans on the civil rights question. Many have succumbed to the temptation and the civil rights agenda for the past dozen years has been mis-characterized. Issues that should be of legitimate concern to all Americans and that are crucial to the national welfare have been described as not in the mainstream. Rather they are characterized as just efforts pushed by "special interest groups" to gain unfair advantage.

The current political climate is likely to spawn more of this and many "sound bites" will be designed and aired as highly emotional appeals to prejudices and racial superstitions at the expense of considered and informed debate on substantive civil rights matters. This essay is designed to set the record straight about civil rights and the "civil rights agenda."

Part I. The Historical Roots of the Current Civil Rights Agenda

- o At the dawn of the nation's creation, a shadow loomed behind the glorious awakening. The Constitution acknowledged and indirectly sanctioned the institution of slavery. The flaw in that instrument was later accompanied by federal and state laws that supported

¹ Shuman, Steeh, and Bobo, Racial Attitudes in America. Trends and Interpretations. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985) quoting from U.S. President's Committee on Civil Rights, To Secure These Rights (1947) at 139, p. 1.

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CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES:

CIVIL RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: ANSWERING ATTACKS WITH FACTS

o Affirmative action is good for America, good for business, and good for working people because it respects the values of inclusion, fairness, and merit.

For the past three decades, affirmative action has meant special efforts by employers to recruit, train, and hire minorities and women who would otherwise have been excluded from their work forces.

Often, affirmative action replaces old-fashioned ways of filling jobs -- for instance, word of mouth inquiries by top executives -- that excluded everyone but the "old-boy network."

For employees of all backgrounds, affirmative action can mean a more fair and open workplace:

o Affirmative action opens doors to qualified people. Once people walk through the door, they have to prove their own merit for job openings and promotions.

o Affirmative action makes hiring standards fit the actual skills required for jobs, to the benefit of businesses, job applicants, and employees.

o And affirmative action can also help create improved counseling, grievance, and evaluation procedures.

In government, affirmative action has helped correct situations that make it difficult to deliver public services to diverse populations: for instance, big-city police or fire departments with minimal numbers of minority employees.

For employers in private industry, affirmative action not only lets them select among a wider pool of qualified applicants but also provides a work force that reflects the diversity of the markets they serve.

These reasons explain why, in a survey conducted in March, 1992, by **Fortune** magazine, 68% of corporate chief executive officers said affirmative action programs were "good, very good, or outstanding," while only 2% called them "poor."

Polls by major organizations, including Gallup (3/92), NBC/Wall Street Journal (3/91), and Harris (1985), have

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CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES: WHY THE BATTLE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION MUST CONTINUE

o Discrimination -- of any kind -- is an anachronism America can no longer afford.

During the remainder of the 1990's -- and throughout the Twenty-First Century -- the United States will be contending in an increasingly demanding world marketplace. American-made goods and services will be competing with rivals from Japan, the European Economic Community, and other advanced societies that make every effort to promote the productivity of their workers.

In this rugged new world, the United States will need to bring out the best in all our people. That's why it's so important to understand the full implications of these facts: Between now and the year 2000, more than 90% of the net growth in our work force will come from women and minorities, and only 57% of the people entering the workforce in America will be native-born whites. America's economic future depends on the ambitions -- and the achievements -- of people who have been the victims of discrimination in the past, and who, all too often, still are denied the opportunity to make their fullest contribution to this country.

In the new decade and the next century, discrimination of any kind -- by race, by religion, by ethnicity, by age, or by disability -- is an anachronism America can no longer afford.

o Civil rights has helped build a proud new America.

Americans have the right to be proud that, in less than a half century, we've achieved a peaceful social revolution. Separate water fountains, schools segregated by law, and elections where only whites could vote -- all are part of a past only a handful of haters would want to restore.

Meanwhile, because of strong civil rights enforcement and affirmative action programs, blacks and whites are working, studying, and living alongside each other in offices, factories, schools, colleges, and communities all across America. And the young people who won the Persian Gulf War were the sons and daughters of that proud new America -- men and women, white, black, Asian and Latino, serving their country together.

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CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES: CRIME IS AN AMERICAN PROBLEM -- NOT A RACIAL PROBLEM

- o Crime is not a partisan issue -- but it is often used for partisan advantage.

In the last several elections, the problem of reducing and eradicating crime in America has arisen as an issue of major moment to voters. Consistently, Americans rank crime among their top five concerns, resulting in anticrime legislation from every Congress -- until this one -- since 1980. The political parties have used the issue to generate more divisiveness than solutions, more hysteria than answers. The 1991 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, mired in Congress under threat of Presidential veto, is a perfect example of this proposition: Republicans argue it is not "tough enough"; Democrats accuse the Republicans of stalling passage precisely so they can use crime for partisan advantage in the upcoming election. The Republicans stereotypically speak to aggressive, anti-criminal, pro-victim "law and order" approaches. The Democrats have been attacked as "soft on crime" and their socioeconomic response as stereotypically pro-criminal and, worst of all, "liberal." These tactics obscure the subliminal appeal: crime is often used as a marker for race and demagogic attacks and advertising imagery tap into profoundly racist fear.

In fact, some combination of the approaches of both parties -- divested of both rhetoric and racism -- may provide the best solutions: short term measures to enhance enforcement and punishment in the protection of our citizenry coupled with sophisticated long term efforts to address the poverty, urban decay, social disorganization and hopelessness that lead to crime are both appropriate to the problem.

- o Neither is crime a racial issue.

A comprehensive approach to the crime problem must include the resolution of many difficult problems. These include

.Preventive detention	.Search and seizure
.Gun control	.Mandatory sentencing
.Parole	.The death penalty

But the answer to none of these questions turns on race nor

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CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVES: EVERYTHING YOU WERE TOLD WAS TRUE ABOUT WELFARE -- NOT!

Many stereotypes exist about the "typical welfare recipient." These have been perpetuated by hyperbolic political rhetoric regarding the "welfare queen," the purportedly non-white, many-child fraud who ostensibly is fully capable of work but prefers to live off "the system" and the hard-earned dollars of taxpayers. "Lazy," "deadbeat," "shiftless," "cheating," are all too often the accompanying descriptives of those who receive some kind of income support. Worse, and unstated, welfare has in some cases become a racial code. Marion Wright Edelman, President of the Children's Defense Fund, explains: "While it is no longer acceptable in most polite circles to race-bait explicitly, bashing welfare has become the next best resort for politicians....[Welfare is] a fourth generation code phrase, perhaps more powerful than busing, quotas, or Willie Horton."

In fact, the public is exploited by those politicians who champion the stereotype and prey on racist concerns rather than by welfare recipients. Much of the mythology surrounding welfare is simply that. Sadly, however, it is pervasive: In a May 1992 New York Times/CBS News Poll, 64 percent of those questioned said we are spending too little on "assistance to the poor"; only 23 percent said the nation was spending too little on "welfare." The facts of welfare make lies of the mythology. Everything you were told was true.....is not!

1. Myth: Most people living on welfare are able to work, but are too lazy to do so.

o There are a variety of government programs for poor persons, some of which are expressly designed to assist those who cannot work (children, older Americans, the totally disabled), some of which assist those who, for various reasons including recession-generated unemployment, are not working, and some of which help those who do work but whose income is so low that it does not lift them above the public assistance eligibility level.

Federally-subsidized cash assistance programs include Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), generally available to single-parent families and two-parent families with an unemployed worker, and Supplemental Security Income (SSI), available only to the aged, blind, and disabled. Medicaid, food stamps,

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